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1742
OPPOSITION

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NECESSARY than EVER:

OR, A

REVIEW

OF THE

**PRINCIPLES, Designs, and Conduct of
the Two PARTIES, joined in the OPPOSITION
to the late MINISTER, before and
since his Resignation; shewing who have
been, and are most likely to continue the
FRIENDS; and who the ENEMIES of the
Public.**

To which is prefix'd

**An Ample DEDICATION to the Right
Honourable the COMMANDER in Chief, during
the Late SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN, and his Three
Right Honourable LIEUTENANTS.**

Deceptus Populus, V—n—s Curia Patrum!

L O N D O N:

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To which is added

AN AMPLIFIED DEDICATION to the Right
Honourable the COMMANDER in CHIEF, during
the LATE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS, and the THREE
RIGHT HONOURABLE PARLIAMENTS.

By JOHN BURNES, Esq; a Gentleman of the Inner Temple.

LONDON:

Printed for J. BURNES, in Strand, at the
Sign of the Crown, over against the Old Palace, on the
South Side of the River.

PREFACE

AS there are but few, if any, modern Writers of so establish'd a Reputation as not to stand in need of Protection, the first Care, of one who turns Author, should be to shelter himself under the Wings of some one or more eminent Protectors. Thus fortified, he may hope to escape uncensured, if not by the Critics, at least by the Bulk of Readers, who oftner judge of an Author's Merit by the Pomp of his Title-page and Weight of his Interest, than the intrinsick Value of his Writings.

Custom indeed has induced most Authors to content themselves with the Armour of single Patrons; but, begging the Pardon of all such self-sufficient Writers, who scorn to be oblig'd to many at a time, I can't help thinking it the Duty, as well as Interest, of all who presume to instruct or entertain the Public, to shew not only, that they are faithful and accurate, but of some Consequence and Importance in the Community, which nothing denotes so much, in an Anonymous Author, as appearing to be intimate with those of greatest Eminence and Distinction.

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But, over and above these Motives, there is another far more interesting than any or all of them, which alone justifies my Choice of Four Patrons for my History, however short it be, and how unworthy soever it may be deem'd of the Patronage of so eminent Personages. As we live in a corrupt Age and Country, 'tis probable the Reader, before he goes farther, may suppose me influenced by venal Considerations, like a late eminent * Writer, who dedicated a small Octavo Volume to no less I think than a dozen Peers and Commoners at once; but 'tis to be hoped the courteous Peruser will alter his Opinion when he sees that my Motive springs solely from Necessity.

Were I to publish a Narrative of the late Winter Campaign in the Heart of Germany, whom could I think of inscribing my Work to but his Prussian Majesty, Prince Charles of Lorrain, the Marshals Belleisle and Broglio, and the Veldt-Marshal Kevenhuller, who commanded there? And to whom should I dedicate the History of our domestic Winter Campaign, but to him who commanded in chief, and the Triumvirate who served under him? All the Nation will agree they have the best Title to the Patronage of a Work which celebrates their Prowess; and, without naming their Names, the World will agree to whom the high Honour belongs.

To mention their Names, or past or present Titles, would be, not only to suppose their Fame as little known as the national Happiness resulting

* Mr. Oldisworth's Dedication of the Polish Senator.

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ing from their Virtue and Skill, but likewise a kind of Insult upon the Understanding of the Public; I shall therefore hasten to my Dedication, leaving the discerning Reader to single them from amongst the rest of their Fellow-Subjects by the distinguishing Peculiarities of their Conduct during their last Campaign, however dignified or exalted any of them may have become since the Conclusion of it.

As most Writers have certain Oddities in their Compositions peculiar to themselves, the Reader will excuse that which appears in mine. An Author can no more divest himself of his Oddity, than modern Ministers of Double-Dealing, Avarice, and Ambition. My Patrons being Peers and Commoners, I could not for my Life stifle my Vanity in addressing to them in the Stile of our Sovereigns to the Parliament: And though this be part of my Oddity, 'tis not the whole; for notwithstanding I begin and conclude my Dedication in the regal Stile, I subdivide the rest of it into particular Addresses to each of my Right Honourable Patrons in the Language of an humble Dedicator, as in Duty bound.

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DEDICATION.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE immortal Honours you have acquired, in your different Capacities, for Sixteen successive Winter Campaigns, and particularly during the *last*, more glorious than all the former, give you undoubted Title to the Patronage of the Work, which I oblige the World with in laying at your Feet. To whom could the History of the late *Opposition* be so properly inscribed as to *those* who made the most shining Figure in it, to *those* who guided all its Operations, and whose Conduct will render it memorable for ever? High as the public Expectation was, at the Beginning of the late renowned *Campaign*, I may venture to say, that not a Man in the Nation but will own, that it ended more extraordinarily than it was imagined it would, by even the most sanguine of both Parties.

Before it begun Numbers were exaggerated on both Sides: In like Manner was Victory claimed by each Party before Hostilities were begun. This may be political Craft; perhaps
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it may be necessary to keep up the Spirit of the different Parties; for *Legislators* are no less liable to Dejection and Timidity than their Constituents: But should I say, that even you, my Right Honourable Patrons, were as much mistaken as the Public, in the Computation of the real Strength of your Squadrons, I don't think I should be so much mistaken as either.

You all hoped, but your Hopes were founded on Considerations as different in their Nature, as your Views and Professions were. One of you rested on the Prevalency of his *private Arguments*; the rest, on the Virtue of your *public Professions*. As soon as Operations begun, the latter, being irresistible in its Purity, bore all before it, but gave Way as soon as that Purity was dislodged by *Self-interest*. Thus have we lately seen Victory snatched from the gallant young Chief of the *Austrian Army* in *Bohemia*, by the Sordidness of his *Hussars*, who, falling too soon to pillage, gave the *Prussians* Time to rally and conquer.

The Learned say, That Comparisons need not always run on All-fours. *Quintilian*, if I mistake not, hints, that a Simile may pass Muster, if it limps upon one or two Feet only. On this great ancient Critic's Authority, then, I may hope that mine will escape the Censure of modern Critics. One Party had Time given them to rally; and, by rallying, they acquired such Strength as to conquer. Thus far Matters quadrate: But whether all this happened

happened fortuitously, or from an inordinate Desire of pillaging, let the Public decide. Since Chance has led us to the Mention of the *Austrian Hussars*, Justice exacts, that we should paint their Virtues as well as Vices. Therefore, let it be remembered, to their Glory, that they retrieved at *Piseck*, the Honour they lost at *Czaslau*: Here they behaved like modern Pillagers, who center all Happiness in Acquisitions of Wealth only; but there they fought as regardless of sordid Interest, as old *Greeks* and *Romans*. Eager of Conquest and Glory, they pursued the flying *French*, unheeding their Baggage, which obstructed their Pursuit; and by a Remorse, unfelt by politer *Hussars*, they gloriously attoned for their Misconduct at the Beginning of the Campaign.

If, in their first inglorious Setting out, the *Austrian* and *B—sh Hussars* bear some Similitude, the latter out-shine the first so extravagantly by their subsequent Conduct, that there remains not the least Resemblance. Abject *Hungarians* may be allowed to relent, and rectify Mistakes; but 'tis below the Dignity of free-born *B——s* to compound for Errors they think themselves above committing. How should it be expected, that a Man would atone for a Crime, before he can be convinced that he had been guilty of one?

Now supposing, that some squeamish *Casuits* should look upon pillaging, or an inordinate Desire of pillaging, to be criminal, and to be highly so when it happens to prevent or thwart

thwart the *Redress* of national Grievances, would that be any Reason for Men of more liberal *Consciences* to shape their Conduct by the Conclusions of old-fashion'd *Pedants* of limited Comprehension? Old *Sh—p—n*, and *B—n—d*, and *C—tt—n* may reduce their musty Maxims to Practice; but, my Right Honorable Patrons, 'tis beneath your Dignity, who lead and govern, to betray *Remorse* or *Compunction*, as you must, had you altered your Conduct to the End of the *Campaign*.

To have changed your Conduct would have denoted *Remorse*, and *Remorse* would have been an Avowal of some Guilt: Therefore, to have kept on steady in your *self-satiating* Course, was the sure Way of soaring above a *Remorse*, Guilt, *Scruples* of Conscience, or popular Prejudice.

As probably I may have Occasion to expatiate on the Subject of *Scruples* and *popular Prejudice*, and, perhaps too, on *Remorse*, Guilt, and Pillaging, in my particular Address to each of you, I beg Leave to drop it for the present, in order to hasten to what I so passionately desire; that is, to perpetuate my own Memory, by exemplifying the particular heroic Actions of each of you during the last *Campaign*: And first,

My Lord, Commander in Chief,

I plume myself not a little, on the superior Happiness of being the first public *Dedicator* to your Lordship, since you have thought pro-

per to be raised above the Class of *Plebeans*. You have had your *Vindicators* in Prose and Rhyme; you have had them *within Doors* by Wholesale and Retail; but *Dedicators* you have had none, that I can remember, before I do myself the Honour to celebrate your Address, and claim your Patronage. From such manifest Neglect of your Lordship's Pomp and Title may be seen, that *Power* was the Magnet which attracted to you all the *Pens* of your Countrymen. I say all, my Lord, because I verily believe there was not a *Pen* in the Nation, up from Gooddy Osborne's to Dan P—e's, but was drawn either for or against you for near twenty Years past. The Squadrons, I confess, were unequal in Number; but what was wanting in Tale, was made up in Round Assertions and personal Altercation, backed by *Power*.

'Twas the Plenitude of that *Power*, my Lord, which drew the whole Fraternity of *Grubeans* into your Service. Ungrateful Race! that could drop your *Benefactor* so soon as you supposed him stript of that *Power* for which you revered him! or, rather, unsagacious Wretches! that could not distinguish an artificial from a natural *Abdication*! The Sun is not the less luminous or vivifying for being eclipsed; nor often the Statesman less powerful behind the *Curtain* than on the public Stage.

But, my Lord, how mistaken soever your undiscerning *Grubeans* were in judging of your *Retreat*, the whole Possy of Writers besides
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saw the Nakedness of it thro' all its Colouring. They saw you artfully covering yourself, by seeming to disrobe yourself of Power; they saw you engaging your Royal M—r, but the more warmly to espouse your Cause, by seeming inclined to remove from him the *Odium* of supporting a Servant obnoxious to the Nation: In fine, they saw you, like a skilful Angler, veering out Line, that those, you had most Design upon, should swallow your Bait with greater Avidity.

The Enemies of your Renown would persuade us, that your Lordship's *Retreat* was involuntarily; that you never so much as dreamed of quitting the Field till you saw yourself in Danger of being out-fronted, and so hemm'd in on all Sides, as to have scarce any Hopes of saving your Baggage and Artillery. But, with all due Submission to the Decision of these Connoisseurs, I rather believe, that you had settled the Plan of Operation before the Opening of the *Campaign*, and that the *Modus* of your Retreat was adjusted with the Right Honorable *Triumvirate*, whom I join with you in this dedicatory Address, immediately after the first *Suspension* of Arms was agreed to.

I won't answer for it, that your Lordship had not a secret Understanding with *one* or all your present *Lieutenants*, long before the Opening of the present *Campaign*; but, supposing you had not actually entered into Articles, you certainly had it in your View to have Recourse to

their Friendship and Popularity, whenever you came to be pinched. You were not unacquainted with the *Bendings* of their Hearts towards Lenity, Riches and Power; nor were you dubious of succeeding whenever public Clamour should force you upon Experiments: But, as Peace is to be sought Sword in Hand, you drew up all your Force, that they might see you were as yet able to wage a defensive War at least. Herein appears your Lordship's Forecast and Address.

Had you made Overtures before Hostilities begun, your present *Lieutenants* would rise in their Demands, on a Supposition that you would never be the first to treat, if you had not been conscious of your own Inability, and the Strength of your Enemies: So that your Lordship (supposing no *prior* secret Engagements) must be allowed to have observed all the refined Maxims of Policy, in skirmishing and pickeering, still avoiding coming to a decisive Engagement, before you offered to negotiate.

There are, indeed, some that impeach your Conduct throughout that whole critical Con-juncture. They alledge, that being intoxicated by your Success on the Miscarriage of the memorable *Motion* the Winter before, you became more indolent and parcimonious than formerly, which, in the first Place, lost you the Advantages to be acquired on a general Election. Next, they say, you did not improve the Interval between the Elections and the

the Sitting, on a Supposition, that the independent Squadron, that had discountenanced the *Motion*, would still be of your Party, or at least Neuters, on an Emergency.

But, for my Part, I see your passive Conduct in a quite other Light. The Session before, and particularly the *Motion*, had so exhausted your Finances, that you really wanted the *Means* of pushing your Interest at the last general Election as vigorously as in Days of yore. Besides, you had so experienced the *Foibles* of your Countrymen on former Occasions, that you doubted not but of making *Profelites* before the Sitting, tho' the Current should run against you at the Elections. The Savings, by this Scheme, were considerable, but the Error of it consisted chiefly in a false Computation of the Force of *popular Prejudice*.

Your Lordship had, for many Years before, been so accustomed to *Noise* and *Out-cry*, which you always bore down by your Authority and Address, that you did not attentively enough consider the additional Strength acquired by *Glamour* on its becoming general. It was an Error which *Pettite* or *d'Avenant* might have been guilty of, had they had your Experience of *twenty Years* of the Efficacy of the grand ministerial *Specific*: But I very much question, if these framed political Arithmeticians could so soon and effectually retrieve Mistakes as your Lordship. The Sublimity of your Lordship's Address has, in no Instance, been so conspicuous as in retrieving your Errors

rors from the Dissolution of the last P—t to the convening the present.

If you were supine and too frugal during the general Elections, and the Interval between those and the Sitting, it can't be denied, that you amply attoned for all your Mistakes as soon as you perceived the Tide of *Prejudice* to swell beyond the usual Bounds. You contrived a *Suspension*, and you improved those short, but precious Moments beyond the Hopes of the most sanguine of your Friends. You sowed *Dissent* amongst those you could not gain, and you applied to those whose Stomachs were of *quickest Digestion*. Amongst these your present *Lieutenants* were of the first Class: You knew they were the first in Repute and Authority amongst your Opposers; but you knew likewise, they were the first that would desert their Colours, could they find their Account in the Desertion. Your Lordship's superior Discernment and Knowledge of Mankind soon determined you to apply to proper Objects.

Two of the *Three* were gain'd as soon as applied to. The *One*, a pliant, supple Twig; the *Other*, a knotty, stubborn Shrub. These, your Lordship know, you could whistle for and command, whenever you thought proper to satiate their Appetites: But the Difficulty lay in forming a Plan so specious as should lure the *Third* into your Scheme. He had a Stomach every whit as voracious as his *Colleagues*; but then he had acquired more Popularity,

larity, by seeming more virtuous. Your Lordship's former Intimacy with him, convinced you that a Man may become popular without Virtue. A cursory Recollection of your own Life might convince you of this Truth. Here I might expatiate, if a *Tenderness* for your Lordship's Reputation did not silence me. Ill would it become an humble *Dedicator* to run over the Life of his *Patron*, from his first entering upon the Stage of State Affairs, to his climbing over the Shoulders of Thousands to the Pinacle of Power. Could such an Enquiry prove your Lordship's early *Popularity* to have been founded on the Basis of *Virtue*, I might be pardoned to enter upon it here; but as the whole Nation, from dire Experience could give me the Lie, let us confine ourselves to the Consideration of your Conduct the last Campaign.

We have taken Notice above of the Difficulties that attended the colouring over the *Desertion* of a Man grown popular by seeming a *Patriot*, and the most inveterate of your Enemies: But even these your Lordship got over, unsurmountable as they appeared to those who knew not your Dexterity, and the stifled *Passions* of the *Object* you had to work upon.

It was to please this popular *Man*, this Idol of the Discontented; it was to varnish over his concerted future Conduct, that you *abdicated* in Appearance. This was deemed an involuntary Step by many, but it was known by

by others to have been taken in Consequence of the new *Preliminary*. Had you continued in your Employments, he must have continued his Opposition, or lost that Weight with the Discontented on which your Safety depended. He had no Family Interest; he had none, either personal or landed. The sole Interest he had was from his known Animosity and Opposition to your Measures. Therefore did it once appear, that he slacken'd whilst you appear'd in Power? He might give you his own Vote, but could not gain you another.

This your Lordship wisely foresaw, and therefore seemingly retreated to mask his Conduct and save yourself. The Consequence proves the Rectitude of your Conduct on this critical Occasion. He so far maintain'd his Popularity and Interest, by seeming your Enemy, that he had the Power to do even more for the Court this S——, than ever you had done for her before in any one *Campaign*; and he has besides, so perplexed the *Enquiry* into your past Conduct, that you may reckon on a total Absolution.

Here I beg leave to congratulate your Lordship on the Success of your Scheme, tho' it was but what all the Nation expected, after the General Meeting at the *Fountain*. There it was that your Lordship's *secret Influence* was first perceived by the great *Moderation* and unusual *Calm* which appeared in your *Lieutenant's* Speech and Countenance. There it was we were first told, that the Court was not to be stormed.

stormed; there Patriot-Eloquence first seem'd to be prostituted; there it was exerted to cool the Minds of an Assembly met to concert Measures for re-establishing *Liberty*, and redressing Grievances; there your *Two* other Profligate *Lieutenants*, my Right Honourable Patrons, were justified for starting into *Places* before their opposing Brethren, or before the *Coalition* had the R—l Sanction. In fine, there it was that this popular Gentleman, this *Idol* of the People, was observed to wear your Lordship's *Livery* under the *Patriot's* Robe.

From that Day the discerning Part of the Public were no longer in Doubt of your Lordship's Safety; deep as you had laid your Scheme, inviolable as the Secret was kept on all Hands, guarded as the popular *Idol* was in his Words, his Works, and *nocturnal Meetings*, your whole Plan was no longer a Mystery to the Quick-sighted: But, I confess, the Delusion was still wide and extended; Multitudes were as yet unconvinced of your *Lieutenant's* Desertion from the Patriot Cause; and this was the Reason that he did not sink as suddenly in the Opinion of the Public, as he would, had his secret Adherence to your Lordship been generally known.

This Uncertainty, the Public were in of your Influence with their *Idol*, was of infinite Service to your Lordship: And it must be owned, that that Gentleman's *Address* on this Occasion was admirable. One Day you were to be pushed with the utmost Violence; the

next, ushered in with *Moderation* and *Delay*. One Day *Grievances* must be redressed antecedent to all other Considerations; the next, the Distractions on the Continent required a Dispatch of the *Supplies* before any thing else. One Day, the C—t was to be laid under a Necessity of receding; but the next, it might be dangerous to drive her to Extremities. Thus, from Day to Day, and Week to Week, were the Publick kept in Suspence, not knowing what to make of their *Idol*, or which way he steered; nor, had not the *Motion* for the Repeal of the S—tp—l Law been made, could the unseeing World be persuaded, that you had bid up to their *Idol's* Price; or that he had been come down to walk by your Clue.

But nothing contributed to their Incredulity so much as their *Idol's* Abstemiousness: Who dare suspect the *Virtue* of one, who not only made public Professions of Disinterestedness, but who was seen to put from him the proffered Favours of the Th——e, with a Shew of Contempt? How must your Lordship smile to see the *Gudgeons* caught with a Hook of your own baiting! This was part of your Plan. Had your *Proselyte* accepted of *Titles* and *Employments* before your Work was done, he had lost his Sting, and been a Drone in the political Hive; and consequently he had never been able to do either your Work or his own. But, by consenting to act as you directed, 'tis visible he has answered your Purpose; and 'tis likely that he has answered his own, it being equal

equal in the main, whether a Man blunts the Edge of his *Appetite* by a public P—t, or secret P——n. *Gold* feeds the predominant *Passion*; and *Titles*, which cost nothing, satiate the Subordinate.

'Tis not to be doubted that your Lordship's *Expence*, during this last *Campaign*, has been unmeasurably large; if it may be judged of by your Call upon the E—q—r in one single Day, (that of your *Resignation*) we must cease to wonder why the national Debts are not paid off. You had not only your *Veterans* to pay, but your public and secret *Auxiliaries*. But what of that? When Men earn what they get, when they enrich an *Employer* at the same Time that they enrich themselves, who would grudge the *Expence*? Some Snarlers may cavil at my using the Word *Employer* rather than *Employers*; let them bark on: Your Lordship knows full well, that the Word *Employers*, when it means C—ft——nts, has been disused ever since the Year 1720. With what Propriety could I say, that the T——ps under your Lordship's Command had enriched their C—ft——nts? I might say, that I believe they have enriched themselves and your Lordship, and your Lordship's *Patron*, because they have given *more* than ever had been given before; but to say they had enrich'd their first *Employers*, would be laying myself open to the Derision of the whole Nation.

The first *Employers*, or *C—st—nts*, have been quite out of the Question for many Years. 'Tis now half a Century since the *C—st—ed* minded little else than gratifying a *Chief Commander*, that he might, in his Turn, gratify their Passions. Your Lordship has experienc'd the Truth of this Assertion, more than ever any Commander did before. You have had implicit Obedience paid you; and it must be allowed, that no Man ever paid dearer for it. But what is very particular, the *Expence* of every *Campaign* so encreased, that it became at last double what it was at your first entering upon the Command, yet *your own private Fortune encreased all along with your public Expence*. This proves, if Proof were necessary, that your *Troops* had constantly forgot their first *Employers*, and always proportioned the *Supplies* to your Munificence and Generosity.

Before I take leave of your Lordship, I beg to be allowed to mention the only Objection, which I conceive can be made with any Propriety to your late general Plan. This Plan, as I suppose, was not only to secure yourself from the impending Storm that threatened you, but likewise to secure your Influence with your Master, so as to be reinstated in Grace and Power as soon as it should blow over. Now, in this View, I cannot think that your Lordship's Choice of one of your *Lieutenants* was altogether so prudent. Tho' this *Officer*, whom you have placed next the Th—e in
your

your Absence, has no great Stock of either publick or private *Virtue*, yet he has Ability and great Address. He is pliant as a Glove, fawning as a Spaniel, insinuating as a *Jesuit*, and crafty as a Fox. Consider then, my Lord, how dangerous a Person you have placed next to *him* whose Ear and Confidence you might hope to ingross hereafter, as you had for many Years past. Was it necessary, for your Security, that this *Proteus* should be employed? Methinks you ought to have fix'd him at a greater Distance from the *Ear* you designed to ingross as formerly. How many Virgins have been seduced? How many *Royal Hearts* have been gained by *Opportunity*? Had you remained in the *Valley*, where your Service was most necessary, perhaps the Danger of such a *Rival* had not been so much to be dreaded, as now that you are raised to an *Eminence*, where you can never be so useful as you were *below*. But, my Lord, as the present *Favourite's* Virtues promise no Increase of publick Happiness, I wish, as most Men do, that you may rather influence the R——l *Ear* than he. With this Prayer I conclude my particular Address to your Lordship, whom I chuse, as the less *Evil* of the *two*. With your Lordship's Leave, I now proceed to pay my Devoirs to your *Lieutenants*, according to their Degrees of Influence at C——t; and first to him, who you have unwarily stationed at the R——l *Ear*.

My

My Lord, first Lieutenant,

Not only your *Quality*, but your present *Power* intitles you to the next Place after your eminent *Leader*; and should I say that the distinguished *Qualifications* of your Mind give you also a Pre-heminence over your *Colleagues*, I don't think I should be contradicted by the Public. For, my Lord, tho' we should allow one of your two *Colleagues* to be *disinterested* and *steady*; and the other, to be *open*, *affable* and *generous*, still will the World agree, that your Lordship out-does them in these and other superior *Qualifications*, as much as they out-do the rest of their fellow S—n—rs. Here, I can no more help exulting, that I have the Happiness of having chosen a Patron, so eminent for *Integrity* as your Lordship, than I can congratulating my Countrymen, that the R—l *Ear* is like to be tickled by a *Counsellor*, who has *Virtue* enough to keep it always open to their Complaints, and shut to Scycophants and Parasides.

By *Virtue*, I mean not that old-fashioned *Probity* revered by our Ancestors, but that modern *Address* that distinguishes the *Statesman*, and raises him above the Level of the People. I mean that subtil *Address*, the want of which was so signally punished at *Sparta*. There it was that Thieves were punished not so much for stealing, as for not stealing with *Address*. The *Sloth* of the purloining Agent was punished, but not his Injustice; but the
Want

Want of this *Spartan Address*, is what will never be charged as a Crime to your Lordship's Account, any more than it can to your subtil *Commander*. If he has *purloined* from the Public, we see he has done it with such admirable *Address*, that he can't be legally convicted: And should your Lordship have the same Opportunities, 'tis not to be doubted that you will improve them, and come off with Impunity, as he is like to do; and by the same Means: For conspicuous as he is for this ministerial modern *Virtue*, 'tis universally allowed, that your Lordship out-strips him by a long Bow-Shot.

Of one of the most finished of our *English Poets*, it has been said, and designed as a Compliment too, that *Nature being so intent on endowing his Soul, had forgotten his Body*. But that universal Parent has been more indulgent to your Lordship: She has embellish'd the Case no less than the Soul. If she has bestowed Vivacity, Penetration and *Subtilty* on the latter, she has not been less liberal to the first, which, by its Comeliness and Openness, bespeaks Attention and Respect; the one engages, and the other secures. Thrice happy Nation that have so finished a Statesman to direct your Affairs, and guide your Councils!

In our enlighten'd Days, *Integrity* is not looked upon to be so necessary a Qualification as *Subtilty*: And, however enamoured some may be with Antiquity, I am not without some Doubt, that *Cicero* was of this Opinion, when he

he complains of *Brutus* to *Atticus*, their common Friend, for having called him *Homo Probus*, good or honest Man. "If *Catiline*, said the Orator, were to praise me, could he do it more sparingly? *Quid jejunius dixerit inimicus?*" Therefore, my Lord, to avoid the like Inadvertency, I shall not, with the Murderer of *Cæsar*, call you *Homo Probus*, but rather, with the Consul, who thought the Epithet too jejune, call you what you really are, *Homo Subtilis*.

It was this Qualification that endeared your Lordship to your great Commander; the *Viri Probi* were not for his Purpose; they might indeed answer the End of the Public better than Men of *Address*; but as the Public was ever the least of his Concern, we find him subtilly delegating his Power to the *Subtile*, whilst he himself can't so conveniently command in Person.

What has been said facetiously by an Author of great Antiquity of the Office of an Ambassador, viz. That an Ambassador is a formal grave Person, sent abroad to Lie for the Commonwealth, may, in another Sense, be applied to your Lordship. You are sent forth, my Lord, to command in the Absence of the General in Chief, and to — for the C — n; but this you don't do with a grave formal Face, as the Ambassador in the aforesaid Description, but with an open smiling Vivacity and Spriteliness. The starched, formal Phiz is

is the Characteristic of one of your *Colleagues*, who has been, of late, no less useful than your Lordship, to your common *Commander*, and the C——n; for which he * * * with a grave Face.

The great Care that devolved on your Lordship, and your distinguished *Address* during the last *Campaign*, gives you undoubted Title to the Patronage of the History of it; and I flatter myself that I shall have as much Thanks from you for celebrating your Fame, as the Nation is like to receive Benefit from your Lordship's superior *Address*.

Sir, *Second Lieutenant*,

Tho' you hold but the third Rank, in the Book of Fame, amongst the great *Commander's* *Lieutenants*, I think myself obliged to place you next after the foregoing Lord for many Reasons: First, you are in *Office*, like his Lordship, which gives you Precedence; and next, you resemble him so much in every Thing, but *Affability*, that it would be Pity to part you. If his Lordship engage the Attention of his Hearers by Openness and Vivacity, you draw yours by Demureness and Formality. If he attract by Sophistry and *Address*, you confute by round dogmatical Assertions. Does he covet Power and Wealth? you are not more abstemious. Will he go any Length to acquire and continue Power? who can say that you won't do the same? Will he veer, shift and change as the Compass of Affairs

fairs points to *Self-interest*? have we not seen that you are as industrious as he, tho' not quite so allert? Upon the Whole, Sir, you are so every Way alike, that it would be a Wrong to sever you. Your Actions are the same; your Intentions appear to be the same; the only Difference liès in your Manner: But, as your View is the same, and as you stand upon pretty near the same Bottom in the Opinion of the Public, I shall no more abuse you with the Compliment of *honest Man* than I did him, tho' I can't say, that you are altogether so well intitled as he, to be called a Man of *Address*.

And yet, in not allowing you equal *Address* with his Lordship, I am far from refusing you the Honour of the second Rank; nay, upon more serious Reflection, I begin to be of Opinion, that you are intitled to the first; and for this Reason, that Nature has fitted you better for *imposing* on Mankind than his Lordship. I am not insensible of his Lordship's Politeness, Affability, Courtesy, Volubility of Tongue, and many other Qualifications natural and acquired, which enable him to gain the Confidence, or, in other more simple Words, to over-reach those he treats with. But, with all these Advantages, there appears so much *Design* in all his Words and Actions, that the World is become *cautious* of him; all that treat with him are upon their Guard; and, consequently, he can't impose so arbitrarily as you, in whom there appears no *Design*, but what seems to arise from your Expression:
The

The Demureness of your Looks, and serious Solemnity of your Aspect, tally so exactly with the Deepness of your *Voice*, and Formality of your Diction, that I look upon you better qualified to impose upon the Public, than even his Lordship, with all his natural and acquired Embellishments.

When I say, Sir, that you are better qualified, I desire it may be understood, that I mean the *Time past*, rather than the present or future. Nature qualified you to *impose*, and you have improved the first *Opportunity* that offered; but I doubt very much you will never have a Second, tho' any Absurdity may be expected from the Credulity and unwary good Nature of your Countrymen. How often have we seen them fatally confiding in Men that had deceived them more than once, as if opposing a Ministry had been Merit sufficient to acquire their Esteem?

But with Regard to you, Sir, in particular, I readily acquit the Public of their Prejudice in your Favour, it being scarce possible to avoid Error, where there were so many plausible Inducements for committing Mistakes. Who could have suspected the Sincerity of a young Man, possessed of a plentiful Fortune, and privately possessing no very warm Attachment to *Monarchy*? Who, I say, could suspect, that a Man, setting out upon this Principle of *Liberty*, and indefatigable in his Opposition to a rapacious *Minister*, would be the first Man in the Opposition to bend to such a *Minister*,

nister, and servilely bow under all the Drudgeries of a C——t, for a Post? Who could suppose, that a Country Gentleman, who had been the most strenuous Opposer of the late *Prodigality*, should be more *profuse* of public Money, than him whose Post he enjoys? Who could imagine, that the most clamorous Asserter of *Liberty*, would become the openest, warmest Opposer of the Repeal of such *Laws* as bore hardest on the *Freedom* of the Subject? But such is the attractive Power of a C——t, such are the Allurements of an Employment, such is the excessive *Thirst* of the *Covetous*, that all Considerations subside, but that one of satiating their *Avarice*.

You have, Sir, greedily seized the first Opportunity that offered; but, if *Delusion* be not blended with the Nature of *Britons*, I prophecy, that you never more will have it in your Power to *deceive*, tho' I am sure you will attempt it, because I foresee you will soon become as inconsiderable to your new Associates, as you are become despicable in the Eyes of your old. You are not *supple* enough for a Courtier: Your Intention is good, but Nature has stamp'd a *Stiffness* and *Moroseness* upon your Words and Actions that suits not with the Air of a C——t. When 'tis perceived you are sunk with the Public, when the Stone of Opposition is roll'd from the *Ministry*, you will be dropp'd unpity'd, unable to deceive again: For the first *Deceit* generally excludes a Second. These *Truths*, how bitter
foever

soever you may think them, I doubt not, you will chearfully join in the Patronage of a *History*, wherein you yourself make so conspicuous a Figure.

Sir, *Third Lieutenant*,

If I place you in the *Rear* of my *Patrons*, 'tis not that I think you have not a Right to be in the *Van*, but, as the most skilful Cooks serve up their choicest Dishes last, I follow their Example, in paying my Compliments to you, after I had dispatched your *Commander*, and your *Colleagues*. They have much *Merit*, but, in my Opinion, you have more: But, Sir, mistake not, that I here mean modern *Merit*; *Merit* arising from that *Address* which raises a Man to *Popularity*. We have many Instances in History of Men becoming *popular*, without any other *Merit* in the World but that *Address* I am speaking of; the Annals of our own Country prove it but too manifestly.

It won't be disputed, that you excel in this Species of *Merit*, since it is certain you became more *popular* than any of your *Cotemporaries*; and that it now appears no less evident, that the only Title you had to public Favour, was your *Address* in perswading Mankind you were, what you were not. The Gentleman immediately before you, in this Dedication, wanted not this Sort of *Address*, but you carried it a far greater Length. He disguised as well as you; but he dropt the Vizor as soon as he found himself detected. Now you refine upon

upon the Scheme, and keep up all the Forms of a *Patriot*, tho' it be evident to Mankind you had dropt the Substance many Months ago. The Non-Acceptance of a P—— it is a thin Veil; believe me, Sir, 'tis too transparent in so enlightened an Age as the present: But, like the last Stake of a *losing* Gamester, it was your last Resource, when you capitulated, to surrender your *Integrity* into the Hands of him whom you painted, all the Time of your long *Opposition*, as the Man in the World the worst qualified, and least intitled to rule and command.

How, Sir, shall we account for the Contrast between your present and past Behaviour? How do your Friends, if any you have at present, account for the Alteration? How do you yourself justify your Conduct, since it has been in your Power to make your Fellow-subjects as *happy* and *free* as the Constitution intended they should be? To the last of these Interrogatories it can't be expected, that any Man, but yourself, can be able to make answer; but to the first and second, the Public on one Hand, and your Intimates on the other, may be supposed to be able to reply. In stating these Answers, possibly I may appear more your Friend than all those you confided in of late: For, without doubt, he only deserves the Epithet of Friend, who neither disguises, nor flatters; and, to convince you that I do neither, here follows what the Public did, and do say of you.

The

The Public, Sir, before the last *Session*, agreed, you had a clear Head, and a voluble Tongue; that you had Reading and Experience; and that few Men would be more capable of serving your Country, if you were less *violent*, less *indolent*, more *steady*, and more *disinterested*. Of your *Heart* they could not be Judges. If any other Picture of yourself has been set before you by other Dedicators, you have been flattered and deceived. Thus were you drawn during your *Opposition*; hear now how you are painted at present.

At this Time, Sir, the Public say, that your first *Opposition* was owing to private *Resentment*; that, finding the Public take Part with you, you continued your *Opposition* to become popular; and by Popularity to become so considerable as to be courted by the C—n; that the late M——r, your present *Commander*, seeing you arrived to a Popularity which threatened his Safety, made Overtures to you of an Accommodation, which you listened to even before the Dissolution of the last P—m—t; and that you suffered yourself to be entirely gained since the Beginning of the present. The Public, Sir, impute your late Conduct, partly to the *Unsteadiness* of your Nature, and partly, to your Thirst of R—ches and V—ty; and they ascribe your Non-acceptance of an Employment, partly to your Policy, and partly to your Indolence. They believe you p—less—d without Honour, an Orator without S——ty, and a Patriot without V—t—e. Having told
you,

you, with the greatest Sincerity, part of what the Public say of you, I shall now examine what some few, who call themselves your Friends, say in your Justification.

They say, if you had answered the public Expectation, and push'd home and improved the Advantages, which might have been proposed from the Superiority of Numbers at the Beginning of the Session, it might have been attended with evil Consequences. That violent Measures might produce a Diff—l—n, as the C—t was determined to support the late M—r, and not recede in any one essential Point: And that, as the Affairs of *Europe*, particularly of *Germany*, were circumstanced, a Diff—l—n must have been fatal.

But, Sir, can you look upon those, who urge such frothy Reasons as these for your late Conduct, to be your Friends? Are they not rather your secret Enemies, who so weakly justify your Separation from your fellow *Opposers*, and from the Public, who had made you considerable? What is it that these *Vindicators* call *violent Measures*? Surely a People, that have a Right to be *Free*, may insist upon Redress of *Grievances*, upon a Repeal of *coercive Laws*, upon further Security for their *Liberties*, and upon the Punishment of *State Delinquents*, without being thought undutiful, or incurring the Displeasure of the C—n? And surely the *Representatives* of such a People might have answered the Hopes of their *Constituents*, antecedent to all *Grants*, without
any

any Dread of being diff—l—d for doing their Duty?

But should a Diff—l—n be the Consequence of a constitutional Exertion of their Power, who would be to blame? Who might be said to protract the *Supplies* for the current Service? Who ought to answer for any Misfortunes that might happen, those who only did their Duty, or those who did, what in Policy and *Justice* they ought not to have done? The M—st—r might be a Favourite from being *useful*; it might be design'd to preserve him; the Repeal of some Laws, and the Redress of some Grievances, might be Pills of hard Digestion; but still I won't suppose, that any Servant who wished a Master well, would advise a Diff—l—n, a mighty Evil, rather than gratify a loyal, willing People. But, supposing that *Self-preservation* had induced the Servant to advise the taking so dangerous a Step, can we suppose such an *Absence*, such an *Impetuosity* of Temper in the M—r as to take it? Besides, a Diff—l—n could not, in all Probability, be of Advantage to the *Minister*, or the M——r; because, as the National Ferment must naturally increase, another *Election* must necessarily prove more fatal to the *Servant*, than the last; and consequently not more agreeable to the M——r.

Therefore, Sir, as it would argue a Weakness in you, hitherto unperceived, and as it would be a tacit Insult on the Understanding of your *Superior*, to suppose your late very

extraordinary *Moderation* to arise from your Dread of a Diff—l—n, we must suppose, with the Public, that you had *capitulated* with your present *Commander*, who had chalked out to you the Plan by which you shaped your Conduct during all the Operations of the last *Campaign*. There is some Consistency in accounting for your Conduct in this manner; there would be none in the other.

Thus, Sir, I have impartially set before you what the Public say of you, and what your Acquaintance urge in your Justification. You best know, if either do or do not speak the Truth; but we all know, that, whatever your Reasons were for your late *Moderation*, you have slipp'd the fairest Opportunity, that has offered since the *Revolution*, of ascertaining the *Rights*, and perpetuating the *Happiness* of your Country: And how you will be able to answer it to *Posterity*, or even to your own *Honour*, let the Public and your *Conscience* decide. To the Conviction of the latter I leave you, assuring myself, you will pay so great Regard to the *Candidness* of my Dedication, that I may depend upon your Countenance and Protection.

If I address you not in a Stile suited to your present *Elevation*, you are to consider that I am dedicating to you as a C—mm—r, in which Capacity you served your *Commander*, and diserved your unhappy C——y. Besides, tho' I am no Enemy to T—tl—s acquired by Virtue, I have so great Abhorrence to those
acquired

acquired by Corruption and Hypocrisy, that, for my Blood, I can't so modernize myself as to offer Incense where I am conscious there is no intrinsic Merit. — Ah! my L—d! how much more *elevated* had you been, how much more glorious had you appeared, how much more pleasing to G—d and M—, had you not *supported* your A—ms by *Arts* injurious to the deluded Community! Had you answered our Hopes, had you complied with your Duty to your dear C——y, had you not deceiv'd us all, had you not deceived yourself, we might say of you, what we too credulously thought of you, whilst you appeared to struggle in your Country's Cause, and what we can't say now of you with any Colour of Truth,

Tibi hospitabile pectus, & puræ manus.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having expatiated so copiously on the particular *Merit* of each of you, there is scarce Room for farther Encomium. But since *dedicatory* Custom exacts a Repetition of the Virtues of *Patrons*, be it known to you, and others whom it may concern, that you are the *Cream* of *Patriots*, the *Flower* of your Country, and the *Hopes* of *Europe*. If this be not saying *Multum in parvo*, and concluding a modern *Dedication* properly, let *Pope* in his next *Essay*, and *Swift* in his next *Dedication* to *Prince Posterity*, point out the Fault, and direct the Amendment.

But,

But, my Right Honourable Patrons, since I have mentioned your being the *Hopes* of *Europe*, an Epithet which *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* might be proud of, give me leave to present you with an *Athenian* Decree, the Consequence of one of *Demosthenes's* Orations. If your present *Harmony* have no very promising Aspect with regard to your own Country, at least let it be of Benefit to the rest of *Europe*. *Philip* was not a greater Terror to *Greece*, than *Louis* is to *Germany*, *Italy* and the *Netherlands*. And it must be allowed, whilst you are living, that the *Greek Commonwealth* was not blessed with abler or more *disinterested* Patriots, than ours.

When I press rigorous Efforts in Favour of *Europe*, think not that I suppose you will find your particular Account in a War with *F—e*, and therefore will promote it. No; though it may be a Means of laying the *Ferment* arising from your joint Conduct; tho' it may prove not only a general, but particular Benefit to each of you, by having the fingering of public Money, I rather suppose you will promote it from Motives of Generosity, than *private Interest*. Your known *Disinterestedness* won't admit of any Supposition injurious to your Honour,

The

The DECREE.

* “ Whilst King *Philip* attacked only Coun-
 “ tries to which he had any colourable Title,
 “ the *Athenians* did not think themselves obli-
 “ ged to interpose ; but since the Danger is
 “ come home, since he attacks *Greece* itself,
 “ they look upon it as unworthy the Glory
 “ of their Ancestors, to see themselves sur-
 “ rounded by *Greek* Cities, that enjoy not
 “ Freedom and Liberty. For these Reasons
 “ the Council and People of *Athens* have
 “ judged it proper, that solemn Sacrifices be
 “ offered to the Gods, and the tutelar *Heroes*
 “ of the City and adjacent Country : And, be-
 “ ing animated by the Generosity of their
 “ Ancestors, to whom *General Freedom* ever
 “ was more dear than the particular Fe-
 “ licity of their own Country, they decree
 “ and ordain, that Two hundred Ships be
 “ immediately fitted to Sea, and that the
 “ Admiral sail towards *Termophile*, whilst the
 “ General advances with the Cavalry and In-
 “ fantry towards *Eleusine*. That, moreover,
 “ Ambassadors be dispatched to the other
 “ Commonwealths of *Greece*, to fortify them
 “ in the Resolution they ought to have ta-
 “ ken of maintaining their *Freedom* ; to ex-
 “ hort them, not to be frightened at the Me-
 “ naces of the Enemy ; and to assure them,
 “ that the *Athenians* are determined to succour
 “ with

“ with Men, Money, Arms, and Ammuni-
 “ tion, all those whom *Philip* would op-
 “ press.”

Here was a glorious Instance of *Athenian* Policy and Generosity! But, like some *Moderns*, they did not content themselves with *de-creeing* and *preparing*, they executed immediately, and in good earnest. That wise People did not *prepare* to give Jobbs to their M——rs or Commanders; they did not put their Country to an immense Expence to calm a disappointed People by *Reviews* and *Embar-kations*; nor did they give the common *Ene-my* any Advantage by their *feign'd* or real *Dilatoriness*.



A N HISTORICAL REVIEW

O F T H E

Principles, Designs, and Conduct of the
Two Parties joined in the *Opposition*
to the late MINISTER, &c.

COnsidering the many Lights held out to the Public by our ablest Writers, during the long Administration of Sir *Robert Walpole*, it would seem unnecessary to point out the Grounds upon which the *Opposition* to his Ministry was founded: Yet, as the Conduct of our Representatives in the late *Session*, of which I attempt to give the History, must necessarily be measured by its Connexion with, or Deviation from, that *Opposition*, 'tis incumbent upon me to examine the Motives and Principles of it: But, tho' the Nature of my Subject, and the strict Impartiality I profess, oblige me to this Discussion, as a necessary Introduction to my Work, I shall burthen the Reader with as few Observations as possible.

From

From the *Restoration* to the *Revolution* all the Revenues of the Crown, put together, did not exceed the present *Land* and *Malt* Taxes, and were indistinctly granted by Parliament, without ascertaining the Proportions necessary for supporting the *Civil Government*, and the *Public Service*. But King *William*, a sagacious Prince, perfectly acquainted with the dreadful and continual Hardships which his Uncle, King *Charles II.* laboured under, by having the Expences of the *Civil Government* blended with those for the *Public Service* of the Nation, wisely desired to have his *Civil List* settled apart, and the *Public Service* provided for as the Parliament should think proper. His Views herein were obvious ; for, the *Civil List* being his own proper Revenue, he might dispose of it for what *Purposes* he pleased, without being subject to *account* to Parliament, which could not be avoided, had it been blended, as it was in both his *Uncle's* Reigns.

The *Convention* Parliament, that had raised that Prince to the Throne, saw very plainly the Danger of such a *Separation* of the Revenue as was required, but thought it ungrateful, perhaps unpopular, to refuse the first Request of their *Deliverer*. From this *Separation*, however, have sprung most, if not all the *Evils*, of which the *Opponents* to Sir *R—— W——*'s Administration had inveighed against.

Some Men may dream, that the Power of the Crown is not encreased by such a *Separation* of the Revenue ; but they must dream indeed, who

who cannot see the direct contrary ; and they must be more wicked than weak who do not own, that it was this seperated *Civil List* Revenue, that had enabled the late *Minister*, for twenty Years together, to carry every Point, and have all his *Treaties* approved of by ——. For, tho' the Increase of our Debts and Taxes has multiply'd the *Civil Employments*, in the Gift of the *Treasury*, almost to an Infinity ; yet could not a Minister, by Employments alone, work so general a *Corruption* as we have seen, had not he had Recourse to a *Civil List*, larger than ever was known to the Nation : And tho', as above said, Civil Employments are become almost infinite since the *Revolution* ; yet are there not enough of them of such Consideration as to bias so great *Majorities* as we have seen in late P—m—ts ; therefore Recourse must necessarily have been had to *secret Pensions*, and casual *Job-money*. But, over and above these large *Out-goings* to the S—s, there was still larger, one every seven Years, to the deluded C—st—ts.

Those several Articles of *ministerial Expence*, which, *Communibus Annis*, did not amount to less than 300,000*l.* a Year, must necessarily have been supported out of the *Civil List* Revenue ; which, had it not continued *seperated* ever since the *Revolution*, could not morally have happened : For how great soever the *Minister's* Influence was in late P—m—ts, he could not possibly purloin annually so vast a Sum as 300,000*l.* from the Public, if he had

been liable to *account*, as he must, had there been no fatal *Seperation* of the Revenue.

The Nature of this small historical Tract won't admit of a more ample Discussion of this important Point; but, from what has been said, I think it will be evident to every Reader of Observation, that all the *Hardships* complained of, during the late long *Administration*, have sprung from the *Seperation* of the Revenue, with which the Crown was complimented at the *Revolution*. 'Tis true, this *Seperation* was not so dangerous when it was first enacted as since, the *Civil List* Revenue being small to what it is at present; besides, moderate as it was, there were continual Deficiencies in the Funds set apart for the Payment of it; so that it was impossible before the late, but particularly the present *Reign*, to apply as much of it towards *Corruption* as would answer the Purpose of an ambitious Minister: But the Case was quite otherwise with the late Minister; he had a *seperated* Revenue of near a *Million Sterling* to work with; a Revenue without *Deficiency*, and of which he was liable to no Account to Parliament, unless there should be a Call upon the Public to make up a Deficiency.—Here let us admire the *Address* of this *Great Man*, who projected the Settlement of the *Civil List* as it stands at present, and the dutiful *Condescension* of that P—m—t, who granted it in the very Manner the *Minister* would have it.

Having

Having shewn then, that the Power of the late *Minister*, to commit the *Evils* complain'd of by the late *Opponents* to his Measures, arose chiefly from having the Management of a *separated* Revenue, far more considerable than ever was known before, we will now enumerate the principal Articles of the Complaint, or rather the National Complaint, that it may be seen how far the Grievances complain'd of had been removed, or what Endeavours had been used for removing them, during the tedious Continuance of the late S——n. I take this Method to be the most regular, as well as most equitable, for inquiring into the Conduct of our present *Guardians*, which most of them have been of the *Opposition* to the late Minister.

The *Opponents*, in the two last P—m—ts particularly, were thought to consist of two distinct Parties, tho', with Regard to the *Opposition* to the late *Minister*, they constantly united, except on the late memorable *Motion* for removing him from the *Administration*. One of these Parties, who, to do them Justice, oppos'd most Ministries since the *Seperation* of the *Civil List* Revenue, seem'd to have had no personal Dislike to the late *Minister*, and oppos'd him only on a Supposition, that his Conduct was subversive of the Constitution, the Influence, Trade, and Happiness of the Nation, whilst the *other*, who had been lately disoblig'd by the *Minister*, seem'd to have oppos'd more from Envy, Pique, and Resentment, than from Principle, or Patriot

Regard for their Country. I don't take upon me to say, that this Description of the *Opponents* to the late *Minister* is strictly resembling, tho' it be such as has been drawn of them by many during the Opposition: But the Sequel will shew with what Truth they were thus distinguished and pictured.—But the Grievances, complained of by the Nation in general, as well as by the *Opponents* to the late Minister, were principally these:

That a large Body of *Standing Forces* were unnecessarily kept on Foot at a vast Expence, and in Breach of the antient Constitution:—That many *Laws* were continued, and some lately enacted, that bore hard on the *Freedom* of the Subject; and that the *Septennial Act*, in particular, was a Grievance which was productive of most of those Hardships felt and complained of:—That many *Laws* were wanting for the further Security of the *Liberties* of the Subject, and particularly Acts for limiting the Number of *Placemen* in the *House of Commons*, for the more effectual restraining the *Partiality* of Returning Officers, and for guarding the ill Effects of secret and temporary *Pensions*:—That the *Trade* of the Nation was sacrificed and neglected, and particularly, that the Staple, the *Woollen Manufacture* of the Kingdom was greatly diminished by the excessive Burthen of Taxes which affected it, and from the clandestine Exportation of *Wool* to our foreign Rivals:—That the Interest and the Glory of the Nation was constantly sacrificed by

by ignominious *Treaties*, and momentary Expedients, to the private Interest of the *Minister*, or to a *foreign Concern* :—That a Majority in the House of C——s, gained by *Corruption*, prevented all *Enquiries* into the Conduct of the Minister, or the obtaining such Papers, or other such Lights as were necessary to prove his Male-Administration, and bring him to Justice :—That our *national Debt* was not diminished, tho' our Taxes continued ; and that the *sacred Fund*, appropriated for the Discharge of this heavy Debt, was annually applied to other Purposes :—That our Expences were as large, during a long Interval of Peace, as when we had a War to maintain against the powerfullest Crown in *Europe* :—That the War with *Spain* was managed very weakly and negligently, if not corruptly, and even treasonably ; and that the *Convention* with that Crown, antecedent to the War, was essentially injurious to the Nation, both in its Honour and Interest, and contradictory to the Resolutions of Parliament :—That a former Treaty with *Spain*, that of *Seville*, was as pernicious, if not more so, than the *Convention* ; and that the *Treaty* of *Hanover* was more pernicious, if possible, than both :—That the *Means* of Corruption was encreased in the Hands of the late *Minister* beyond what it ever was before :—That he employed such *Means* towards sapping the very Foundation of the Constitution, that is, in corrupting the L—gisl—re ; and that this super-abundant *Means* for corrupting arose principally

principally from an enormous *Civil List* Revenue, which the Minister did employ to the Subversion of the Constitution; and might, without Apprehension of being punished, as the Distribution of the said *Civil List* Revenue was not cognizable by Parliament:—That the Article of *Secret Service* was become so monstrous, during the late Administration, as to threaten the very Props which supported the Constitution.—In short, that there was a general Combination of all the Officers, civil and military, under the Crown, for destroying the Constitution, and subjecting a free People to the arbitrary Will of the Minister or —.

These were the Grievances, or Part of them, of which the Nation complained; and to redress which the *Opposition* to the late Minister was set on Foot, and supported to the very Hour of his laying down his Employments. Let us now examine what Steps were taken by those who inveighed most against the late Minister, as principal Author of those Grievances, after his Retreat, and their stepping into his Posts and Power. Let it be observed, however, that we are here to examine their *Legislative* Conduct chiefly, which falls more directly under our present Consideration, than their *Ministerial*.

The Reader must not expect, in this Examination, a Journal or Diary of the Proceedings of the late Session, which would be as useless as insipid; much less should he expect to be entertained with a dry Narrative of the Struggles

gles of the *Minister* and his *Opponents* before he resign'd. These Matters are so fresh in every Reader's Memory, that it would be a kind of Insult to him to offer to call them to his Mind, at so small a Distance of Time. We shall enter into a Discussion of far greater Consequence to him in particular, and his Fellow Subjects in general. We shall trace the *Opposition* to the late *Minister* down from its Source, whence it will appear which of the two *Parties*, joined against him, acted upon the Principles of *Patriotism*; and which from *Envy*, *Self-Interest* and *Resentment*. Such an Enquiry is of the utmost Importance to a People that are, from the Nature of the Constitution, under a Necessity of following, and resting their Happiness on the *Probity* of one or other of these two Sets of *Leaders*.

Tho' I am an Enemy to Party-Distinctions, which were first set on Foot, and continued ever since, by bad Men, for bad Purposes; yet, for Method sake, I am obliged to distinguish the Parties of the late *Opposition*, by the old Appellations of *Tories* and *Whigs*. From the Industry of designing Men heretofore, the Public were inclined to think, that *Whiggism* imply'd *Resistance*, and *Toryism*, *Non-resistance*, to all Encroachments, by either the *Regal* or *Ministerial* Power: But, upon what Truth this *Belief* was founded, will best appear from the Conduct of the two different *Parties*, that join'd in the *Opposition* to the late *Minister*, both before and after his *Resignation*.

Whilst

Whilst the whole Body of the *Whigs* were united with Sir R——t W——le, there was an *independant Party* which opposed, not all his Measures *indiscriminately*, but such only as seemed injurious to the *Freedom* and *Happiness* of the Nation. This Party, for Distinction's sake, we will call the *Tory*, tho', from the exact Consistency of their Conduct to this Time, it must be admitted, that they have taken up the *Principles*, if ever they had them not, of their Associate *Whig*-opposing Brethren.—About the Year 1725 the *Minister*, unable to satiate the *Avarice* and *Ambition* of each *Pretender* of his Party, was deserted by many; who, the better to be revenged of him, join'd the *independent Squadron* that had constantly opposed all his Measures of *Oppression*, as has been observed above.

After the Junction of the discontented *Whigs* with the *Tories*, the Opposition to the *Minister* became a quite different Thing from what it had been: For with the *Confederates* it seemed to be an unalterable Maxim, never to divide among themselves upon any Measure that could distress the *Minister*, but to oppose *all* his Measures *indiscriminately*, in order to destroy him; whilst the old *Opponents* (the *Tories*) contented themselves with opposing such of his Measures only as tended to the Subversion of the *Liberty* and *Happiness* of the Public. But such was the infatuated Conduct of the *Minister*, that there were but very few Instances, from the Separation of the *Whigs* to his
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Resignation, in which the *old Band* could have any Colour for leaving their new Confederates. There were, however, some; but that of the memorable *Motion*, for the Removal of the *Minister* in the last Session of the last Parliament, was the most considerable.

So much has been said of that *Motion*, and the Desertion, as it was called, of the *old Opponents* from the *new*, in that Instance, that it would be making too free with my Readers for me to entertain them here on the same Subject; wherefore, I shall only observe, that I always looked upon the Conduct of the *Tories*, on that important Occasion, to have been not only wise and consistent, but a Point concerted and premeditated. The Wisdom of it appears in the Consequence, it being demonstrable, that the vast *Majority* with the *Minister*, on that Question, had lulled him into a *Security* that helped more, than even the Opposition to the Distress which obliged him to resign: And of its being a Work of Premeditation, I could give a Proof, if I were at Liberty, to which one of the most violent *Motionists* was no Stranger, for some Days before the *Motion* was made.

The laudable Warmth, with which the *Tories* exerted themselves in the late general *Elections*, and their Steadiness and Uniformity throughout the late *Session*, leaves no Room to doubt, that their Conduct, with Regard to the *Motion*, was shaped with a View to the Welfare of their Country. They had the

Removal of the Minister in View, on a Supposition, that he was an Enemy to the Public ; and believed, as it happened, that it might be compassed sooner by voting with, than against, him, on the Motion : But could they have supposed, that the Removal of one bad Minister was making Way for many infinitely w— ; or, that the most implacable of his Opponents would have been the supplest and most cringing of his Creatures, I believe they would, as they ought, have taken other Measures for fixing the Freedom and Happiness of their Country. Could the Nation have supposed so direct a Contradiction between the Professions and Actions of certain Men, when in, and when out of Employment, I fancy they would have shaken off the Reliance on all the ostentatious Professors of Resistance, however distinguished, and have fixed their Hopes and Choice, in the last Elections, on those who have always acted up to their Professions, with Regard to Liberty and Property.

If we look back for half a Century or more, we shall find the boasting Professors of Resistance constantly strengthening the Hands of the Prince, by Armies, Revenues, and coercive Laws, whenever they were employed and cherished : And this does not appear to be the Case of a few, but of the whole collected Body, some virtuous Individuals excepted. Look back to the late Reign ; examine the present ; look back to the first Eight Years of Queen Anne's Reign ; see the mottley Reign of her Predecessor ;

for ; and say, if you can, if this Portraiture be not drawn to the Life ?

Observe, on the other Hand, the Conduct of those who have been falsely represented as bearing and abetting all the Encroachments of the Crown from Principle. View their *Resistance* at the *Revolution* ; view their Abhorrence of a *Standing Army* in all King *William's* Reign ; see the same virtuous, steady Dislike of it in the latter Part of Queen *Anne's* Reign, when they had the Power to continue a *Standing Force* ; and when it would have been their *Interest*, if they were capable of an *Interest* separate from that of the Community.

I am not, however, justifying the Conduct of the whole Body of the *Tories* indiscriminately, some few, that went under the Appellation, having too often stooped to the Influence of Court-Corruption : Nor would I be thought to condemn the *Whigs* without Exception, since we have, even at this Time, an Instance of *Whig* Virtue, which does Honour to the Nation. I call the Virtue I am celebrating, that of a *Whig*, because the glorious *Duke* who practises it, was look'd upon as one of that Party ; for no Reason, however, but because he acted with them whilst he thought they meant the public Good. But what I contend for is, that, for half a Century past, or more, the *Tories* in general have been the warmest Asserters of the People's *Liberties* in every Shape ; and the *Whigs* in general, on the con-

trary, the boldest Invaders of the People's *Liberties* and *Properties*, in every Reign, and every Instance.

If the servile Subserviency of the *Whigs* be considered, it will be no Wonder why they have been cherish'd and employed preferable to their *Tory* Fellow-subjects. Men that will fawn, flatter and obey *implicitly*, will be always first in the Confidence and good Graces of a Court. But is *bowing* to a servile, cringing *Ministry* so meritorious, as that a People, jealous of their *Freedom*, should intrust their *Liberties* and *Properties* with such supple *Bowers*, when there are Men of tried Virtue to depend upon? As no private Man in his Senses would put himself, his Fortune and Family in the Power of a *Neighbour*, that had *betrayed* all those that had confided in him; so ought not a wise People to risk their *Liberties* and *Properties* in such Hands as have been known to have sacrificed every thing to *private Interest*, whenever they have been vested with Power.

If it be doubted, that the *Whigs* have constantly dropp'd the Public, to increase the Power of the Crown, whenever they were employed; or that the *Tories* supported the Rights and Interest of the People, when in and out of Power, let the Conduct of both be scrutinized and examined.

The *Partition Treaty* in King *William's* Reign, which has produced most of the *Evils* we have felt ever since, was the handy Work
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of *Whig*-Ministers, whom a *Tory* House of Commons had endeavoured to punish. The *Anticipations* of the *Revenue*, in that and the succeeding Reign, which have entailed the present National Debt under which we groan, was of *Whiggish* Manufacture, and strenuously opposed by the *Tories*. The *Septennial Law*, the *Riot Law*, all the manifold enslaving Laws that regard the *Revenue*, are of *Whiggish* Growth. Such also was the memorable *Excise Scheme*, which, had it succeeded, would have rendered the *Minister* invulnerable. The *Waltham Black Act*, by which the Subjects are virtually *disarm'd*; the temporary Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, which endangers the *Liberty* of all Ranks of Subjects; and, indeed, all the coercive Laws, of which the People complain with Reason, are of the Begetting of our boasting *Whig*-Protectors; and were constantly and warmly opposed by the *Tories*. Who have continued an useless *Standing Army*, that has cost the Nation above *Thirty Millions* since the Death of Queen *Anne*? Who have expended many *Millions* in unnecessary *Subsidies* to Foreign Princes, and the Pay of Foreign Troops, since the Year 1715? Who have made many destructive *Treaties* since *Q. Anne's* Death? And what were the Parliamentary Majorities that gave them Sanction? Who have squandered the National *Revenue* in corrupting the *Electors* and *Elected*? Who have continued our Debts and Taxes, and destroyed

stroyed our Trade? In short, who supported the late *Minister* for twenty Years together? And who have screen'd him since his *Resignation*? Were not they *Whigs*, the mighty Pretenders to *Patriotism*? Have not the *Tories*, in every Reign, every Session, every Instance, and on all Occasions, constantly opposed all those Big Evils we feel and complain of?—Tell me then, you deluded *Britons*! in whom ought you to confide; to whom intrust your own *Freedom*, and that of Posterity?

We have observed, that the *Tories* were Early and Steady in an *Opposition* to all Encroachments on the *Liberty* or *Property* of the Subjects, and particularly to such of the Measures of the late *Minister*, as tended to endanger either. We have likewise taken Notice of the Division of the *Whigs* about the Year 1723, and the Adherence, of the *Discontented* among them, to the *Tories*, till the late *Minister* was forced to a Resignation. We will now cast a cursory Eye on the Conduct of Both, from the laying down of the *Minister*, to the End of the late Session, whence the Views and Principles of each Party will appear in the clearest Light.

No sooner was the *Minister* compelled to resign, but the *Tories*, in a Body, gave the earliest and warmest Proofs of the Zeal and Affection to his Majesty's Person and Government; and, if they have not continued their Attendance at Court, 'tis not so much owing to
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the cold Reception they met with there from some Courtiers, as that they saw the same Measures pursued, which they had exclaimed against, and steadily opposed, during the Administration of the late Minister. Herein they acted consistently; and, had their late opposing Brethren of the *Whig-Party* followed their Example, there would have been an entire End to the late Minister's secret Influence, and new and wholesome Measures would have been the Consequence of a Change of Hands: — Now the real Principles of the Parties appear; the *Tories*, ever consistent with themselves, continue the Opposition, because the same d——ve Measures are continued: But the late opposing *Whigs*, still consistent, join in the Measures they had opposed for seventeen Years successively, because they are admitted to a Share of the publick Spoil. Hence we may see how much more safe we are in relying on the first than the latter, who constantly have sacrificed our Interest, whenever they have found their private Account in the Sacrifice.

Does not the Conduct of the late opposing *Whigs*, during the whole last Sessions, prove indisputably the Truth of the Assertion? Have they not openly opposed, or thrown cold Water, on every Motion, for the Relief or Security of the Subject? Have they not been more liberal to the C——n than ever Commons were before? Have they not granted above seven Millions of Money, and voted for near Seventy Thousand

Thousand Land Forces, besides Forty Thousand Seamen, without obtaining, or insinuating to obtain, any one single Article of those Claims of Right, which the whole Nation cried out for, and expected? Did not the Chiefs of them, those boasting, late, Whig-Opposers, Speech and Vote against the Repeal of the Septennial Law, and against the Shadow of a Place-Bill's being in Force till seven Years after it passed? Did they not oppose, or evade, every Motion in favour of the People?

But was it not obvious to all Mankind, that it was not intended the first *Place-bill*, the *Pension-bill*, and the *Indemnification-bill*, which all shared the same Fate, should pass into Laws, since they were not tacked to such *Bills* as are seldom or ever refused? The whole Nation knew the *unequal Weight* in the other House, which it was necessary to counterpoise, and which, however was impracticable by any other Means than *Tacking*; but this only salutary Method of carrying Points, essential to the *Happiness* of the People, was no ways consistent with the *Views* of the late *Whig-Opposers*, now become *Ministers*. They opposed only to unhinge the late *Minister*, that they might step into his Places and Power; and the *dear Goal* once arrived at, their sole Business was to *ingratiate* themselves, the better to continue their *Influence*. Let their warmest Friends point out one single Instance, since their stepping

ping into Power, of having acted up to the *Character* they personated whilst they *opposed* the late Minister, and I myself will mount the *Rostrum* to trumpet their Praise; nay, if they will shew any one Advantage the Nation has got by the *Change*, I will become their Advocate. More, if it can be shewn, that *Self-interest* had not always, as now, been the predominant Passion of *Whigs*, at all Times, and in all *Instances*, I will be dumb for ever.

Since we can trace no *Benefit* accruing to the Public from the late *Change* in the Ministry, let us examine, whether or no our Condition be not worsted by the *Mock-victory* obtained over the late Minister: I say *Mock-victory*, because it is evident, that the late Minister has undergone no other *Change*, than being eased of the *Fatigue*, whilst he enjoys the full *Exercise* of Power.

While the late Minister's Power had a *visible* Existence, we knew whom to charge with Male-Administration; we could not be at a Loss where to fix out Attack: But now the Case is quite different, he is envelop'd in a Cloud, tho' the *Primum Mobile* of the Administration, and, consequently, can't be come at; and his Ministerial *Slaves* collectively can't regularly be made accountable; nor is there any one of them considerable enough to be ponied at singly: So that, by the late *Change*, we have lost the only *Mark* we had to emit our Resentment and Justice at, without acquiring any in its Room: But the *Exchange* of

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Hands is attended with a worse Consequence, as one gorged *Lecob* is infinitely less noxious, than many starved hungry *Blood-suckers*. The *Covetous* are never the less hungry for having large private Properties.

I have shewn what the Nation expected from the late *Whig*-Opposers; but I need not take Pains to shew how shamefully they have deceived us; the late *Session* proves their *Deceit* but too evidently: It proves, that they opposed solely to acquire Power; and that, their *Avarice* and *Ambition* once satiated, they drop their C—ft—nts. Their Conduct, during the late *Session*, is the strongest Proof of what we have asserted, viz. that *Britons*, if they would transmit *Liberty* and *Affluence* to Posterity, must not support a Set of Men, that have eternally sacrificed every National Consideration to *Self-Interest*.

If there be any such Thing as *public Virtue* remaining amongst us, 'tis certainly with those whom the *Whigs* have branded with *non-resisting* Principles. The *Tories*, if ever they gave Room for the Imputation, which I think they have not, have taken up the *Whiggish* Principles; and the *Whigs* have constantly acted, whenever in Power, on those slavish Principles they would invidiously impute to the *Tories*. The least Reflection will convince the Reader of these Truths. They are *Truths* of the utmost Importance to a *Briton*, particularly at this Juncture, when our Circumstances are worse, and our Case is become
more

more desperate by the late *Addition* to the Strength of the C——t *Whigs*.

I shall conclude with recommending *Unanimity* to all who wish the real Prosperity of these Nations. Let us watch the Motions of our *open* Enemies, and guard against the *Machinations* of our *secret*, by slipping no Opportunity, not the most minute, of promoting the *Interest* of those who have hitherto appeared to be our *real Friends*. The *Whigs* have failed us constantly, and deceitfully failed us, therefore have not the least Title to our *Confidence*. If we must *depend* on any, let it be on the *Tories*, who have not deceived us, and I believe never will deceive us.

F I N I S.



Whig (No. 1)

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T. I. W. V. 2.

